/159 cont./

●787 Fig. 14. Prophecy Wood. One-half natural size [as shown in the original text].

a, b, c, d, bits of wood of a set; d^1, side view of d; e e, holes for a string.

The prophecy wood consists of a set of four variously shaped bits of wood. These are thrown like our dice and the future can be predicted from their position, for example, whether hunting will be successful, or whether there will be a war.

An A'uin maintained that from the prophecy wood he saw "an ox-wagon with two Whites approaching the settlement." [791] The wood appears to belong to a dwindling group of persons who, like the "doctors," are cleverer than most people.

[6 cont.]

101 account refers only to the latter.

821 [7] The sky is designated by them as !nanu áiba Éroba Kharésa ("rain house of god").

776 For god they have the expressions "Erob" and "χ'amab."
775 only "Erob" is used in prayers. χ'amab (1) has been preserved

1. χ indicates a very low gutteral click, for which I know of no notation.

in χ'amá //gu Khe = "people who are with god," in other words, the souls of the deceased in heaven. Everyone goes there, the good as well as the bad. Erob has no wife and no children. A human being has only one soul (!gau-ba). This soul goes to the heavenly house and remains there "until Erob makes new people from it." Here is a belief in the transmigration of souls, which, it must be admitted, is not thought through any further.

No spirits of the dead remain on earth. There are little
776 bush spirits, the gangorob; they are harmless and do nothing. There are no evil little spirits. They supposedly know nothing about Heiseb and /Nawa.

136 The supply of game is ample in the tall dry forests of the Otjimpolo Veld. There are also fish in the rainy season. The
[825] Bushmen call them "shiba" (Ovambo: oshi or ochi); in other words, originally they had no word for them.

224 The Bushmen are helpless against the lion (χ'oréba).
[825] They leave a region as soon as lions make it unsafe. "There is no point in hunting them."

The leopard (χ'nába) is hunted with dogs (ariba). The
[439] chiefs of Amboland pay a good price for the skin, since little princes and princesses are not carried in a litter made of cowhide, but in a leopard skin. The jackal (≠Khai-eba) and the Löffelhund (//aruba) [a fox-like wild dog of the subfamily Octocyoninae] are hunted with enthusiasm. "Aruba" probably corresponds to N. //arob = striped jackal.

Wild dogs, "Khere," !nube (N. !goub) are preferably
[825] avoided. No notice is taken of the hyena, ≠Khai-lasa (N. ≠heirab),
[262] and it is not eaten. When they come near the camp, it is not a
[787] good sign.

[32 cont.]

222 Termites are captured in two ways. During the night holes are dug near the tall termite hills, and these holes are illuminated with wooden torches. A hide is placed on the floor of the hole, and soon so many termites are on it that the hide can be carried home. The second method is used to catch those termites that have no structures above ground, but have a network of corridors running horizontally immediately below the surface. A hole is dug deeper than the corridors, and the termites fall into it as they run frightened back and forth on their [33] horizontal paths. [821] This kind of termite serves as a weather prophet for the rain [787] doctor, since they construct the most openings facing upward when a rainy year is in prospect. The lion was not hunted. In olden 224 262 times, only the old people ate the large game. The flesh of predatory animals is forbidden to all children; on the other hand, there is no prohibition against eating hare.

224 Naturally, the Bushmen are very anxious to have success in hunting. !Khu himself, the great captain, brings luck in hunting. He orders the supreme //Gauab (/Nawa) to direct the arrow. The doctors always pray to the great captain to send hunting luck, but there is no specific formula. They do this "quietly to themselves." An old prospector in Kalkfeld told me that he had seen the following among the !Kung Bushmen: "Before they go hunting, they draw the outline of the animal in the sand and with all kinds of ceremonies they shoot an arrow into the drawing. Where the figure is hit, the game will also be struck."

I shall now render fairly literally the course of a kudu hunt as it was described to me by a Bushman: "When I have found a kudu track, then we follow it very quietly and when we have found the place where the kudu ate, then one must be very careful. One person goes ahead, and the others follow. Now, when I see the kudu standing, I take out the poisoned arrow and shoot. Then I look to see what the kudu is doing or shoot once more; then I follow him to see whether the arrow will drop out; if the arrow falls out, I take it and see how deeply it penetrated into the kudu. Then I have to go back to the other hunters and state exactly how everything was. Then we go home. One should not run after the kudu, but must leave it alone. The person who

[47 cont.]

pig concerned, at which time in each case a large drop of white fluid escaped from the stinger. Finally they moved about quietly without making any further attempts to sting, but they did not in any way show the excited hurry to get off the Bushman's body that has been reported by individual writers. The old man claimed not to feel any pain, and I have no reason to distrust him since, after all, if the poison had had any kind of effect upon him, he would scarcely have allowed himself to be stung in the most sensitive parts of his body for the sake of my desire for knowledge. Even a full hour after our experiment, the parts that had been stung did not show the slightest alteration. The man declared that he had attained this extraordinary faculty as a boy in the 'school' of a sorcerer, where he had been urged to apply scorpion poison, which had been taken forcibly and thinned with water and urine, on small incisions, as well as to eat the poisonous stingers pounded to a mash and boiled; supposedly immunity against snakebite can be obtained in like manner."

14. The Doctors' Test

One afternoon the eldest of the horde outside Keibeb came to me and told me that that night a great dance would take place, first, because a three-year-old child had just been bitten by a small black snake, second, because many people were sick with fever, and third, because one of the men wanted to undergo the doctors' test. Such festivals take place only during the time of the full moon. Toward nine o'clock in the evening I was lured into the camp by wild noise. The people had made somewhat larger and more fires than usual. The mother with the child bitten by the snake was seated in the center of an open semicircle. The older women squatted around her. To one side of them in single file, one behind each other, stood the younger women and girls. Both the male [48] and female doctors were busy. The chief female doctor, Biri, was "personally" absent this evening. She was crouching off to one side in the darkness of the bush. /Nawa, the highest of the //Gauab, had taken possession of her and spoke through her mouth. Her hair ornaments, long chains of beads made

[48 cont.]

755 sounds similar to those of ventriloquists, and by certain muscle
756 contractions. By pressing together the gluteal musculature of the
786 buttocks and at the same time holding the knee joints as far apart
796 as possible and pressing the legs together at the ankles, they eventually produced a tonic trembling cramp of the entire musculature of the lower extremity, in which they reeled back and forth. It is possible for anyone to put himself into an autohypnotic state in this way, as this author also learned from the doctors. Soon the rolled-up eyes indicated that the doctors were in a state of trance. They danced around one another, fell over one another, and lifted one another up. Some women also started making noise with the dance rattles. The Bushmen were now convinced that
[787] /Nawa himself was dancing among the doctors, was visible to them, and spoke with them. At this point they say something
[782] like prayers; they invoke the great spirit of the old Bushman who has killed many elephants; they call the spirits of the dead who have sent their little spirits of sickness over the living, and they especially beg /Nawa to transfer these little spirits of sickness to the doctors.

755 The doctors ran alternately to the bitten child and to
756 those ill with fever who squatted around the fire, stroking the
796 painful places, both from the armpits down to the soles and from the shoulders down to the fingertips. Occasionally they also sucked at the diseased spots or inhaled the breath from the mouths of the patients.

From time to time, the doctors performed these operations upon one another, first of all, as they said, in order to distribute the poisons of sickness equally among all the doctors, but also in order to obtain power from the other doctors. Thus "charged," the doctor then again ran to the patients to take their poison.

Now and then the chief doctor ran screaming around the
[787] line of standing women and [49] disappeared into the bush in order to ask the chief female doctor about the will of /Nawa. After about an hour's dancing the chief doctor went to the bitten child. The child had been bitten on the back, and this was rubbed with fat and then medicine; then all the patients were again subjected to the treatment described above, and soon thereafter /Nawa an-
[787] nounced through the mouth of the chief female doctor that the

[49 cont.]

[787] child, and the other patients, too, would be cured. That ended
755 the first part of the ceremony.
756
796

Now the doctors' test began. The others, with the exception of the women making music, participated only as spectators. The doctors went on dancing, often holding their arms stretched out to the sky, with the fingers spread apart, and then springing to the fire and holding their hands over it. Flinging the hands toward the sky is done to give some of the little spirits of sickness back to the chief spirit /Nawa, who passes up and down along a thread between heaven and earth. It is not a gesture of prayer. Similarly, holding the hands over the fire is intended to achieve the same result, because the "little spirits of sickness" do not like the fire and hence will go away. Meanwhile, they thank the great spirit for having saved the child. Then they prayed to /Nawa that he might concentrate all the little spirits of sickness on the
[753] doctors' candidate and kill him so that the people would be free
[761] of evil diseases, for the dying person takes the spirits of sickness with him. By brushing, rubbing, and blowing, the old doctors now transfer the spirits of sickness to the candidate. The latter is completely exhausted, collapses from time to time, is constantly lifted up again, and, staggering, he dances on, with foam appearing at his mouth. The other doctors taunt him: "You leopard, you lion, you elephant, you insurmountable mountain, you gigantically strong man, now you can't cope with the spirits of sickness we have given you." Once more the chief doctor runs to the former patient and transfers to the candidate any disease poison he may have gathered. This hellish spectacle lasted one and a half hours; then the chief doctor went to his oracle sitting in the bush and asserted that the candidate was too strong: we have concentrated all the little spirits of sickness upon him and prayed to the chief spirit that he might take (kill) him, but the candidate is stronger than the spirits of sickness. Nevertheless, the oracle commands: "Dance on." While this happened, a woman came out of the background -- in the half-dark I was unable to see whether or not it was the chief female doctor herself -- and busied herself around the cured child. She clapped her hands and beat her palms together, with the thumb sides in front of the child's face, and thus put even the child in a brief trance. The dancing continued until around midnight when the oracle finally declared that though the

[52 cont.]

773 821 Concerning the moon, I was told: "The moon was also carried by people. It was not as warm as the sun, but very heavy. So the men helped each other, and with great difficulty they brought it to the huts. The moon was a man. He said: 'I prefer to remain alone and do not wish to be among you.' Thereupon the Bushmen said: 'If you go alone into the desert, you will surely die.' But the moon did not obey, went out, and died. But then it woke up again and rose like the sun; therefore, like the latter, it is from the 'Great Captain.' When it disappears, it has died. When only one side of it is visible, then it is young. When it becomes smaller, then it is old. The color of the moon comes from its gall (/góo)."

The well-known story of the moon and the hare is told there as follows:

The moon once said to the hare: "I die and wake up again, you on earth should do the same." But the hare answered: "No, we cannot do that, we who are on earth, only you can do that because you are in the air, among us this is impossible; once we die, we do not wake up again." And the hare was right; it is still so today.

821 [825] The eclipse of the moon, !nui dsao, is caused by the lions so that they can more easily steal into the Bushman huts.

[53] Comets, ǂ'u !gam, are stars of the great captain; [777] they bring luck. When a shooting star, ǂgomma, falls, it is said, [787] just as among us, that someone has died. The stars are the camp- [775] fires of those spirits who at the command of the great captain come down and fetch the souls of the dying.

[823] Earthquakes, ǂ'áno !gee, are omens of sickness. The [787] rainbow, !khâni !náo, indicates a good year for rain.

[782] What the Bushman begs and prays for is not sunshine but [776] rain. The great captain alone dispenses rain.

Lightning and thunder are not beings in themselves, but are caused by rain. When someone is killed by lightning, it is said: "The rain has killed him." When there are flashes of lightning and thunder at a distance, the rain is saying: "Today I shall thunder over the whole earth." When there are flashes of lightning and thunder on various sides, the clouds are speaking to one another. And when they touch each other with their heads, the

[53 cont.]

751 burned to a tinder and pulverized to make a medicine. The per-
821 son struck now has incisions made on his tongue, forehead, cheeks, chest, and legs, into which fat is rubbed, and then this medicine is smeared on. Now, for the time being, he is safe from persecution by the rain.

16. Rain Magic

789 People turn directly to the great captain when they need
[539] rain. Not all doctors are able to procure rain, only the few who
796 enjoy the special favor of the great captain. Then a dance is organized, at which the doctors put themselves in the trance state described below. At the same time the following lament is repeated countless times:

[54]

[539] !garǻ gurǐ dee oa ǂam	Why does it not rain?
X'uǻ dě rá /gaa !ái /gaa	Which lord is holding back the rain?
/gǻm khui hẽ	The sun is hot.
!kûng-ná gurǐ /gŏǻ /gŏǻ	Will man live?
//gauǻna tani /gee ǂgǻo	Are the spirits bringing winter?
!kung /goá hŏŏ !koa !kung ō dshn-ǎ	Where is man supposed to drink?
//gaa /a //gõĕ !kung /n̄ a //gõĕ	If it is so, can man only die of thirst?
!kunǻ //gõĕ ne oa	What can man do now?
Ha-!kung tam hā̄ m tam nǻ /n̄ gĕĕ	We had better stay here because we have been abandoned!

756 Finally the great captain in heaven hears the lamenting.
789 The doctor runs from the dance place into the bush and sees that
787 a thin thread is let down from the sky. The doctor climbs up on
796 this thread. The great captain comes to meet him half way. As soon as the doctor sees the great captain, he throws a red powder (ocher with medicine) toward him. Now the great captain draws the doctor up and leads him to the heavenly house. In front
[775] of this house [Fig. 20 appears here] the doctor sees the spirits of his deceased colleagues who year in, year out, stand before the house.

[54 cont.]

756 house. The doctor then begins to pray: "Lord, help us, the chil-
789 dren are dying, we are dying of thirst and hunger." He prays and
787 begs until the captain says: "It is good, I shall send water so that
796 the children will have water and veldkost." Then the great captain again accompanies the doctor halfway down. As soon as the doctor is down below, he lets go of the thread which is immediately drawn up. Now the people dance and sing, for the rain has come:

[537] /gá-é dsó-jā /gaa — We rejoice now over the rain.
//ē gā djusǎ !kho ǎdshója /ga — Then we rejoice all together.
//ē gā hin a /gaa /gaa — Then the rain comes.
da //goǎ dshn !gu da adschŏéa χ'u — Then the people praise the lord.

532]

Fig. 21. Spirits of the Dead and Rain Animal (from Bleek, Rock Paintings in South Africa etc., Pl. 58).

776 Another !Kung said to me: "The great captain in the sky
821 sends the rain and all that comes from above. If he does not want to, everything remains shut up. The rain is opened up above; a great vlei is there. I do not know the name of the great captain. The Hei//om call him Som-seb."

17. Religion

771 After a critical look at the sum of the conceptions determining
177 the religious life of the !Kung, one recognizes, as would naturally be expected in the case of such an ancient people, that the elements

[58 cont.]

775 From there they make their rounds. They always return to their
769 graves. Hence, a Bushman always makes a detour around a grave. He does not point at a grave with his finger, and he does not call to a companion: 'There is a grave!' A great detour is made around the area where there is a grave. When a Bushman unexpectedly passes a grave, he puts a stone on it. That is a greeting for the dead person. In so doing, one makes the grave more secure against wild animals."

769 From the region of Foxhof I have the following informa-
775 tion to add:

"The Gauab that arises from the flesh of the corpse remains seated by the grave. When a relative passes by and the Gauab is sitting out in the open, the Gauab thinks: I know this person well; why is he passing by here without giving me any water. Then the Gauab becomes angry and makes him sick. Then when the doctors sing, they recognize what the trouble is and say: Today you passed by the grave of N. and did not give anything. Tomorrow morning very early you must take water and
775 an ostrich egg and place them by the grave. Such a Gauab also
●787 goes hunting, kills game, makes a fire, cuts open the game, takes the fat, and brings it to the doctors while they are singing.
[756] The Gauab, whom the other people cannot see, sits down at some distance from the dancers. The doctor sees him, however, and goes to the Gauab. The latter tells him where the game lies, and the doctor tells this to the other people, who fetch the game and praise the Gauab.

775 "The stars are the campfires of the Gauab.

"The Gauana take the souls that they have stolen to their village and then back to the grave. The people often hear a voice in the veld; this is the Gauab calling, and on their way they find a piece of dead game. When the Gauab is out hunting and has gone too far from his grave, he must sleep in a tree. Some of the souls stolen by the Gauab are brought to the captain of the Gauana. The souls that are taken there again become actual persons up above with the captain of the rain. The others, however, are the little Gauab who go hunting here."

[114] The observations made by Bleek (3) 50 years ago seem to
776 be especially significant.

3. W. H. J. Bleek and L.C.Lloyd,

[113]

[58 cont.]

[113] Specimens of Bushmen Folklore, London, 1910-11, pp. 10-13.

776 be especially significant. The !Kung at that time told of a being called /Chue, who transforms itself in turn into various fruit trees and veldkost plants, into a Herero, etc. One day he transformed himself into a //gui tree, his wife ate of it, the tree disappeared, and /Chue changed into a fly. Another time he even became a waterhole, then again a gecko; at night [59] he always changes back into a little human being. The Herero look for him, but cannot find him. /Chue then makes a fire and dies. His father sees this and then moves to his homeland on a large mountain called //Noa. We shall probably not go wrong if we identify this /Chue with Huwe. This Huwe, as is known, is sometimes equated with the great captain ǂ'u. In this old setting he also has distinct traits of Heiseb.

782 The !Kung who were W.H.J. Bleek's informants were also familiar with a prayer song addressed to the new moon. In ac-
[534] companiment, they blew on trumpets made of antelope horns. (Bleek-Lloyd, ibid., p. 15.)

787 The old !Kung called the prophesy sticks /Chu, which evidently is the same name again as that of the great captain and is in agreement with Dornan's report concerning the Masarwa that Modimo himself spoke from the prophesy sticks.

755 Vedder reports that in case of illness a messenger is sent
769 to an ancestor's grave and prays: A dsi-dsi mi !hâ tí ǂ'ai-a? (Why is my son ill?) ǂnu /kôã (to live in health).

774 While my informants denied the presence of any animistic
825 conceptions, the old !Kung believe that certain snakes, lizards,
775 and antelope found in the vicinity of graves represent spirits of the
171 dead (1), as they do among the Bantu.

1. W.H.J. Bleek and L.C. Lloyd, ibid., p. 430.

[59 cont.]

19. Dance Songs

I was able to take down a few dances:

1. Dance Song for the Wedding

535
539 ee ga ee /nuia khe e /goaro be We are singing of the child. (Repeat.)

2. Pantomimic Eland Dance

χ'ai /nui !gaa u da !gaa Runner with arrow poison in his body
ts-ii !gowara //goe Do you run with a heavy head.

The elephant dance, curiosly enough, is sung with the refrain: "The Ovambo girl goes around between the men."

524 The !Kung also have a war game. Two parties stand facing each other some distance apart and shoot bird arrows at each other. The Bushmen are very skillful in evading these arrows.

622
782
769 Farmer Friedrich near Duwib reported the following to me concerning the Hei//om near Tsintsabis: When the village elder dies, his successor makes an incision on his forehead between the eyebrows and squirts the blood toward the east; then he cuts his little finger and sprays the blood toward the west. This is done so that the dead chief in the beyond will see to it that those remaining behind will always have veldkost.

782
681 At the girls' initiation the spirits of the east and west are implored in song to let the young woman always find veldkost.

787
695
684 "If after a hunting expedition of several days the husband suspects that his wife has been unfaithful to him, he can clear up the situation by means of an 'ordeal.' He takes a resinous root that burns like a candle with a bright flame, in the evening places it in the entrance of his, that is, his wife's hut, and observes the direction in which the long flame points. If the flame points into the interior of the house, adultery occurred during his absence. If it points outside, his wife is innocent."

[64 cont.]

825 existence. The appearance of the ring-necked snake indicates
[787] misfortune.

774 Animistic conceptions are more pervasive in the world picture of the Masarwa (2). According to Dornan, each thing is a

821 2. The Kalahari Bushmen (Dornan, op. cit., p. 165) have some knowledge of the stars. The Southern Cross is a giraffe, but the Cape Bushmen regard it as a group of lions. Some of the Bushmen regard the stars as animals or human beings who have gone up to the sky.

773 The following story is told: During the girls' initiation a girl who possessed magical powers nodded to some lions and they were immediately transformed into stars.

The Cape Bushmen told another story: During the girls' initiation a girl was quarreling with her mother because the latter refused to give her certain roots that may not be eaten at such times. The girl seized the roots and the ashes and threw them toward the sky. The roots became stars, the ashes became the Milky Way. -- Shooting stars signify misfortune.

774 kind of spirit. Human beings and animals can each transform
[825] themselves into the other. Individual doctors change into leopards, and many animals are regarded as other appearances of man, especially the springbok, the baboon, and a number of snakes. When a ring-necked snake approaches a village, it indicates
[177] death. Bantu influence is undoubtedly at work here.

[184] The !Kung doctrine of two souls reappears in a different
774 form among the Masarwa. The shadow of each thing, as well as
775 that of the human being, is its other soul. They believe that the shadow soul remains in the vicinity of the grave, while the self walks in another place where it meets with the fathers. It is supposed to be warm there, and supposedly there is much game. In the beyond one acts the same as on this earth.

MASARWA OR OVONGGO BUSHMEN

[64 cont.]

600 769 the beyond one acts the same as on this earth. Like the Namib Bushmen, they throw little stones on the graves and at the same time pray that the spirit of the deceased may bring them luck (Dornan, op. cit., p. 146).

● 787 [774] Conceptions concerning dreams are tied in with the Lulu doctrine of conscience. In a dream the other self speaks with the dreamer, and this may be good or bad. The other self may be influenced by enemies and thus do harm to the twin soul.

According to Dornan, the Bantu adopted the oracle sticks from the Bushmen. Every Masarwa carries four or five pieces with him. The female pieces are longer and narrower than the [825] male pieces. They are made from the hoofs of small mammals, [824] from wildebeest bones, and fruit kernels. The names of the four sticks are: Chowe, Kao, Daua, Gaichwe. The Masarwa believe [776] that [65] Thora and Huwe, and perhaps also Khauma, speak through these bones, and Mackenzie (1) states that the Bushmen

[113] 1. Ten Years North of the Orange River, p. 136.

had designated these bones as morimo aa'me (things of God).

The shoulderblade of the springbok is also used for divination by the Masarwa.

606 Among the Masarwa the mother-in-law may not look at her son-in-law and may not mention his name. The wife may say 551 602 neither the name of her husband nor the names of his relatives.

Finally, concerning the Swamp Bushmen of the Okovonggo 105 101 delta, J. Seiner reports:

"The Tannekwe have summer and winter villages, as well as boats and goats, and engage in agriculture, fishing, and hunting. [563] The latter occupations are practiced by the pure Bushmen, whereas half-breeds and the pure Mambukuschu, who were stolen as children and reared by the Bushmen, occupy themselves with agriculture and subordinate tasks.

"The number of racially pure Bushmen among the Tannekwe [144] may be as high as 60 per cent, but as a result of the slight increase of true Bushmen, which they try to equalize by stealing the Mambukuschu children, they are undergoing a steady decrease. AND RACIAL MIXTURE IS PROGRESSING RAPIDLY,

NARON
≠AUIN
NOGAU

[70 cont.]

881 Among the Naron, on the other hand, they must first pass the hunting test before they are admitted to the boys' initiation. Ten or 12 candidates are taken into the bush and must live for a month on veldkost, which is sprinkled with a medicine by the doctor before it is eaten. Women are not allowed to come near the camp.

During one of the nocturnal dances, Hise appears, dances [776] around the circle, and is then driven away by the medicine man. [787] Some say Hise looks like a woman; others describe him as a being three feet tall, with a flat head, large eyes, black body, 535 881 wings and claws (one is reminded of the spirit bird Engorori, which appears at the initiation of the Ovambo, or of the Neida Gamaseb of the Bergdama).

Some old ≠Auin saw two beings, one male and one female, 787 who looked like lions but walked upright; they were followed by children who looked like baboons.

Evidently masked dances, are involved here. The younger 535 men no longer see this Hise; the doctors explain to them that he 881 came, but could only be seen by the medicine men.

A special dance for Hise is an imitation of a bird's movements. In olden times the people also danced in pairs, while they sang in refrain: "Ostrich stomach, Hise stomach, hu, hu, hu."

The /Di dance is likewise dedicated to Hise. At this dance the men wear the dance rattles described above, as is also done for profane dances, but in addition they wear white or black ostrich feathers.

3. The Girls' Initiation

Among the Nogau when a girl has her first menstruation, 881 there is a celebration. Throughout the first day the girl must stay [343] in a closed, arbor-like pontok especially constructed for her. She is only given something to drink, nothing to eat. The women gather from far and near and perform dances around this arbor. These festivities last for five days, and only one man is present as a leader of the ceremony. During these five days the girl is regarded as "poisonous" and may not touch anything, not even

≠AUIN
NARON
NOGAU

[73 cont.]

776 821 not die, but otherwise they are like people, except that they have black skin. When there is no rain, the Bushmen make a large [789] fire and throw into it a root, "he," and a male turtle. As soon [535] as it starts to rain, they dance, strike themselves on the thighs, [534] and sing: "Ehe, ehe, ehe, ije, ije, ije, ehe, ehe, ehe," etc. The sorcerers can transform themselves into lions.

The rain sorcerer lives on earth as other people do. The rainbow is the rain dog. The clouds are the rain hairs.

At the time of new moon, they say the moon is sleeping. During the night the sun runs back to the east.

Thunder and lightning are not made by the rain, but by Gauab who among these Bushmen has become a personification of evil. Lightning is called "Gauab's knife."

The dark night sky is the covering of the moon and sun. The dome of the sky is called /gna. My informants left it an open question as to whether the sun perhaps "might be the greatest," the one who has made everything. On the other hand, Khu is likewise regarded as the creator. He made heaven and earth, and he also made human beings live. Khu is not a human being; he is good, but nothing more is known about him. He does not interfere in the course of the world and of human life. To be sure, they say, "Khu is the greatest, and Gauab is the smallest," but nonetheless Gauab plays a larger role in their lives. He controls thunder and lightning, he races over the steppe as a destructive wind spout, visible to all, and he also kills people by tearing out their souls and making a little Gauab out of them. This little Gauab in turn runs about in the bush and does all kinds of evil things.

[74] There is a secret moon cult among the Naron. They 794 ● 987 821 pray to the new moon for rain. In olden times certain stars, especially the morning star and the Southern Cross, which they call "fire shoe," are also supposed to have been invoked. The story of 773 the moon and the hare is told in the following way: The moon 821 said: "People must die and arise again, just as I die and return again." But the hare contradicted her and said that people should remain dead. The moon then became angry and cut the hare's mouth with a hoe.

"The moon is an old man, and the sun a young girl, his wife. First the moon goes under the sky, and then the sun follows behind

[74 cont.]

773 him. They go to their huts which are under the horizon in the
821 west. At night or during the day, respectively, they go back to their huts in the east; one can hear them but cannot see them."

114 Kaufmann was unable to discover anything concrete con-
776 cerning the high gods of the ≠Auin. Concerning the Naron, Bleek
776 relates that a curious mixture of religious conceptions has come about. A central position is occupied by Hise or Hyesa, who is designated as !Khuba or !Xuba by the adult men. The old people knew nothing about this. The Nama designate !Khub as master or lord, and this word is used by a number of missionaries for Christ. These elders maintain that this concept has been adopted
[777] from the Nama. Formerly they only knew Hise, who lived in the east. Hise is evidently the same as Heitsi Aibib (literally, "the first tree").

The Naron relate that in olden times both the trees and the
773 animals were human beings who were transformed by Hise into their present shapes. Then Hise called the chiefs of the Whites and Blacks and said to them: "Take cows and goats and live with them." But to the first chiefs of the Bushmen he said: "Take the antelopes and live on them; make traps and hunt and live in the bush."

The expression Huwu or Huwuba is known and is supposed to
776 designate the great captain of the men in the north. The details given by Miss Bleek concerning //Gauwa are interesting. In the opinion of the Naron and ≠Auin, //Gauwa is the spirit of a de-
[775] ceased person. Medicine men can also see these spirits; the
● [787] women can only hear them. Many a woman declared that only men who had gone through the initiation ceremony and who have two scars between the eyebrows can become //Gauwa. A strong, howling wind is also designated as //Gauwa, however. A few individuals also believe in a chief spirit by this name, who lives near Hise in the east and to whose house the spirits return by day. Some designate //Gauwa as the younger brother of Hise; others identify him with the latter.

The Naron put both masculine and feminine endings on the word Hise. Among the ≠Auin he appears during their dances at

NARON
NOGAU
#AUIN

[75 cont.]

Among the Naron, according to Miss Bleek, the Bushman revolver is also in use. The doctors fight one another with it. Such an arrow is secretly shot at the opponent's kaross, and through the magic emanating from the arrow, the enemy falls sick and dies.

8. Death and Burial

The Nogau have the following conceptions: Death is caused by Gauab, who steals the soul and makes a little Gauab of it. The dead person is buried immediately; there is no dancing, only weeping. The corpse is tied in a crouching position and buried on its side with the head toward the east. Only the sleeping blanket is placed in the grave; the weapons that were left behind are kept by the brothers. The food that the deceased was carrying with him is thrown on the grave. Then bushes are placed on it.

In their opinion the soul of the deceased, which has been transformed into a Gauab, wanders around near the grave; therefore they detour around it. When a Nogau Bushman passes the grave of a tribal member, he prays to him for help in hunting so that the children will grow fast and become fat. He says:

"I do not know how it will go with me
With the food, how it will go with me with the food;
I do not know what I should do to get something to eat,
Let us eat and become big."

On the other hand, there is also the belief that the great Gauab who kills a human being eats the heart or keeps it in cold water and finally makes a new Bushman of it. Among the Naron the corpse is tied in a crouching position and buried on his side with the face toward the east. These customs are by no means always observed, however, especially when the ground is hard.

The Naron do not fear the spirits of the dead, although the doctors see them, as do those men "who have incisions between the eyebrows." As we know from the Nogau, this includes all who have taken part in the boys' initiation. Women can never see such spirits.

Among all three tribes, old people are exposed to die.

[78 cont.]

it with the fingers. [Fig. 29 appears here.]

[79] The lion is neither eaten nor hunted. The jackal and leopard are eaten, as is the liver of the latter. Baboons are not eaten, because they were formerly Bushmen.

The line of tattooing between the eyebrows make people into leopards among the Nogau. The Naron smear themselves with red and black color. The other incisions and tattooing are made purely for adornment.

Among the Naron, millepedes are regarded as creatures of Hise, and only doctors may touch them and make medicine of them. Among the Nogau and ǂAuin there are magical bones that are used to predict the future. The Naron also believe that the rock engravings stem from //gauwa.

Among the Auin it is forbidden to eat hyena flesh, and likewise the flesh of the shabrack jackal because it is a dog.

The following important data supplied by Gentz (1) should be added:

1. "Einige Beiträge zur Kenntnis der südwestafrikanischen Völkerschaften [Some Contributions to Knowledge of the Southwest African Tribes]," Globus, Vol. 83, 1903.

"I have repeatedly found Bushman arrows on which the point, usually made of bone (for the most part ostrich bone), was made of wood. The game sling, reproduced in Figure 29, is constructed as follows: A strong string, four to five millimeters thick, which at one end terminates in a simple loop, is fastened at the other end to a flexible young tree or branch that is bent far over. A small, thinner string with a transverse stick is attached at the loop end. The string is placed around a small post driven into the ground at an angle, and it is prevented from slipping off by means of a flat piece of wood buried under the ground and planted against the free end of the transverse stick; the sling is placed in a circle on the ground over the flat piece of wood. The game, which follows its customary track to the

/256 cont./

224 301 828 3. A piece of root wood, called /un /gei, is pierced and worn on a bast string on the chest. This little piece of root has its distinctive story. When the Bushmen are hunting and want a clear eye to see game, they scrape a bit off its surface and rub the powdery scrapings between the eyes and from there upward across the middle of the forehead to the hairline. They believe that they can increase their keenness of vision by this procedure. An experiment that I made with the powder produced no change on the skin that was treated and naturally did not have any visible effect on my keenness of vision.

301 787 4. Little wooden sticks which are used as oracular instruments, especially by the Kung people of the Kaukau Veld.

These are four wooden sticks which are strung on a string and worn on the chest. They are about as long as a finger and about two centimeters wide. Two of them are about as thick as a finger; the two others are only a few millimeters thick. One end of the sticks is cut off smooth, and the other pointed. These four sticks are questioned for all imaginable purposes. If the Bushman wants to know where game is, where he is to expect an enemy, or which route he is to take, he asks his sticks. He does so in the following manner. He spreads a piece of leather in front of him and crouches on the ground. Then he places all four sticks parallel and on top of one another in his left hand, the back of the hand being turned toward the ground. With a sudden jerk, accompanied by clicking the tongue, he throws the little sticks on the cloth; naturally, the sticks are scattered with their tips pointing in various directions. Depending on the matter at hand, each little stick signifies something special. When I had a Bushman captain in the Kaukau Veld consult his oracle concerning the fate of our patrol, one of the thick sticks in this throw signified the oxcart that accompanied the patrol. A lively argument concerning the significance of the sticks in a given case frequently arises between the consulter of the oracle and the spectator; finally, the view of the more respected of the two apparently wins out.

184 291 301 /257/ The clothing of the Kung people in the Kaukau Veld is essentially the same as that of the Heikum on the Omuramba ua omatako; even the ornaments do not show any great differences. Nevertheless, I was struck by certain peculiarities of the Kaukau people that I did not find among the Heikum.

6:Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1957 FX10 Bushmen FX10
'Kung

it gets a bad *n/ow*. We heard the words used constantly in connexion with *n/ow* and rain and cold, but know of the use of only one of them in another connexion. The /Kung say that a child '*//ghui*(s) its name' if its teeth come late. We do not know precisely how to translate the words and hope that a linguist will some time throw more light on them.

≠Toma, one of our informants, pondering on the question of how the *n/ow* comes to be of one kind or the other in a person, said he thought the child's position in the womb and whether the child had long or short legs might have something to do with it, but he was not sure of this, and knew no more to tell us. A caul or a breech-birth does not make the *n/ow* good or bad, he thought. Other informants thought that severely deformed infants or twins might possibly be more likely than others to get a bad *n/ow*, but they too were uncertain. (Possibly this is because deformed infants and the weaker one of twins are killed at birth by /Kung mothers, so there is little occasion to think about the *n/ow* of such children.)

It is discovered what kind of *n/ow* a child has by observing the weather at the time of its birth or soon after. If it rains the people believe the *n/ow* of the child has brought the rain and are sure the *n/ow* is good. If water should freeze when the child was born or soon after, the child's *n/ow* would be known to be bad. Should the weather continue in its normal seasonal course and no great extreme or notable change occur, the child's *n/ow* will be thought to be probably of the rain-bringing or cold-bringing kind according to the type of weather which prevailed; but if the weather is extreme at the time of the birth there is a feeling of certainty about the kind of *n/ow* the child has acquired, as the /Kung believe the effect of the *n/ow* was clearly observable.

At death as well as at birth the *n/ow* of a human being influences the weather. A /Kung told us that his *n/ow* had brought heavy rain when he was born and that everyone knew he had a rain-bringing *n/ow*. He said his mother, who lived at some distance from where he lived, noticed the weather and, if rain came at an unusual time or was unusually heavy, she feared he had died and that his *n/ow* was causing the rain to come.

N/ow is said to exist in the bodies of human beings (presumably everywhere in them). Informants mentioned it particularly as associated with uterine fluid at the time of birth and with the urine and hair of humans.

Hair is associated with clouds by the /Giwke Bushmen in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, with whom we worked in 1955. They have a myth, told to us by the old headman, Oukwane, which says that God, whose name there is Pisiboro, and who is their one God, tore the black, black hair from his head and threw it into the sky to make the rain clouds.

In *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*,[1] Dr. Bleek and Lucy Lloyd record a belief about death, collected in 1875 in the Katkop dialect from the informant Dia/kwain, which refers to hair and clouds. We quote the statement:

> The hair of our head will resemble clouds, when we die, when we in this manner make clouds. These things are those which resemble clouds; and we think that (they) are clouds. We, who do not know, we are those who think in this manner, that (they) are clouds. We, who know, when we see that they are like this, we know that (they) are a person's clouds; (that they) are the hair of his head. We, who know, we are those who think thus, while we feel that we seeing recognize the clouds, how the clouds do in this manner form themselves.

[1] Bleek, W. H. I., and Lloyd, L. C., *Specimens of Bushman Folklore*, London, 1911, pp. 399–401.

776 communities are surrounded. Except among the groups which have long been in contact with and largely influenced by other races belief in a supreme being would appear not to exist. The partly disorganised *ǂAo-//ĕin* and *//Aikwe* groups of the Gobabis district believe in a good being named *!Khutse* or "God" and a bad being called *Gāua* or "Satan." About the nature, however, of these beings they have no idea nor are their lives and activities influenced to any extent by them. People who die a "good death" are
775 said to go to *!Khutse* and those dying a "bad death" to *Gāua*. The former have a good time and live in plenty; the latter, on the other hand, often suffer hunger and distress. Among the primitive groups a deceased person is believed to move about in the form of a ghost at night. *Buchu* (*tsā*) is
[76] accordingly sprinkled over the grave to make the spirit of the departed happy so that it may not return at night to molest others; further, water is poured over or left at the grave in order that the spirit may not interfere with the rain, and the bow, quiver and arrows of the deceased placed at the graveside to obviate the necessity of his ghost returning to look for them. Every sphere of activity in life is influenced
771 by some superstition or other which, as a rule, finds expression in certain avoidances or in ceremonial and other rites and practices. Examples of these have been given in connection with the subjects already discussed. It is unnecessary to allude to them any further.

787 Divination is widely practised and absolute faith is placed
776 in the divining properties of the objects which are used for the purpose. The source from which these properties have been derived is attributed by some to their "first big Bushman," by others to *Gāua* ("satan"). Thus the Bushman *Tji-tji* is said to have been initiated by *Gāua* "on the other side" into the use of the small magic quiver. *Tji-tji* had killed a gemsbuck. *Gāua* arrived on the scene and said, "I have come to you; you need not be afraid; both of us can sleep here." After having consumed the animal and slept *Tji-tji* remarked to *Gāua*, "Give me that stuff (*//ai*)." The latter replied, "If I give you the *//ai*, what will you pay me?" *Tji-tji* answered, "I will give you the horns." *Gāua* then took the horns, made the little arrows out of them, invested them with *//ai* and before departing taught *Tji-tji* the *//ai* dance. From that time the Bushmen have known how to use magic.

000 In conclusion I desire to express my regret at having been unable to deal with the subject of this report in a comprehensive manner during the short time at my disposal. More detailed information on the Bushmen of this Territory is available, however, in the works mentioned in the bibliography.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

another Bushman, and because he was so happy to see someone and imagined the two of them passing the night together talking by a fire, he waved and called and ran up to the other Bushman. But when he got there he found that he had been mistaken—what he had thought was a man had been only a stump.

A second song was about two jealous co-wives, and the song, more ironic than sad, was composed by the husband to ridicule them. The names of these two women were Nunkwe and Aite, which sound for all the world like Gikwe names, as perhaps they were, and we wondered how far this song had traveled, by how many ears and mouths, before it found itself at Nama Pan.

The third song was called "*Chiviba*," a song composed by a young man who had brought veld food to his people in a chiviba, a basket made of branches. His people laughed at him and said that he was lazy not to have a bag to carry the veld food in, but nevertheless they were not too proud to eat what he had brought. The fourth song was called "*Ka Te Te*," the song of the redwing partridge. The redwing partridge is most strongly tabued as food, may never be eaten, and *ka te te* is an imitation of its cry. The song was composed by a man who heard a redwing partridge making a sound in the evening and knew that the sound foretold a misfortune or a death.

Because the young man who owned the guashi was lonely and brooding, it was natural that he should play. The other people loved to hear him and often when he played several people, usually men, would gather to lie in the shade near him or sit beside him with their chins on their raised knees and listen, sometimes singing softly as he sang, very harmoniously, but paying no attention, just singing in their own way within a set harmony, dreaming and soft, and although the young man played for his own ears, not theirs, he could infect

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

132 or perhaps kindled by the wind from old embers, and their new smoke rose white against the sulphurous sky. The dawn was warm, the north wind blew and, though the smoke it carried stung our eyes, it carried too the sound of insect voices and frog voices from the pan. These songs and cries of creatures made the air seem alive, the veld large, quite different from the deathly quiet dawns of frost.

● 787 We were getting ready to look for Short Kwi and his people, and that morning we packed a truck. Everyone felt apprehensive, and at Toma's werf Gao Feet, a medicine man, was throwing oracle discs to see what would happen. He crouched in front of his kaross, which he had spread to throw the discs on, and beside him sat Toma and several other men, their lips pressed against their hands, absorbed, watching. We watched over his shoulder; at a distance, for oracle discs are men's business, the women were standing up to see.

Gao Feet had five discs made of antelope hide, which he would shake in his hands and then drop upon the kaross. When they fell in certain positions, they would tell him certain things. Before he would throw them, though, he would assign identity to them; if he was wondering where people were he would call them men and women, or name them after people he wanted to see, and if he was trying to predict the outcome of a hunt he would call them kudu or gemsbok or wildebeest, male and female, then would see in which direction game could be found, and how far away. Sometimes, too, he would call one disc a hyena and then, if this disc fell upon the disc that was the wounded antelope, he would know that hunting that day would be useless; the hunters would never find their prey.

Sometimes he threw them with a particular question in mind and sometimes, as this morning, he named them and then threw them just to see what would turn up. Perhaps he

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

felt uneasy with no specific worry in mind. He did ask them one specific question, though; he wanted to know where an outbreak of diarrhea that everyone had got came from, and when Tu's brother, the lame boy, who was watching, heard what was asked, he said that our cameras had sent the diarrhea, and the people almost choked themselves laughing at that. Toma laughed until he cried. "We do not really believe this," he said through his tears, looking over his shoulder at us lest we should be uneasy, "we are only joking."

Toma, Gao Feet, and Lazy Kwi took turns throwing the discs and presently the discs told them that the diarrhea "came from the fires, from people to the east." I don't know how to interpret this, but perhaps the Bushmen meant that the disease blew down the wind. The discs also foretold that someone in the west would kill a buck, that visitors were coming, and that some Europeans and some Bushmen would sit at a fire to talk. Later all these things came true. Because the oracle discs predict conservatively, their predictions often come true.

Toma lost interest in them and told everybody how he had been walking home the evening before and had heard a voice which had sounded to him like the voice of a European speaking English, but when he had investigated he had found a Bushman man sitting alone in a clump of bushes practicing the sounds of English, possibly hoping to speak it, and Toma's audience all thought that was very funny and they talked on and on about it. Incidents like this are talked about forever by Bushmen, who drag them out infinitely, remembering every detail, savoring them to the fullest. This is because very little happens outside of routine. (We once asked some Bushmen if they ever made up stories to tell and they, a little righteously, said no, they did not, because Bushmen do not care to hear about things that are not true.) Then the

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WHEN THEY GATHER, the men are most likely to discuss hunting—the great exploits of memory, or plans for the future. For the chase is their passion.

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ORACLE DISKS, *bottom left*, are made from eland hide, in sets of five. The !Kung often use them to determine the direction of their next hunting foray.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

821 them or seek to gain beneficent influence from them. As far as we know they do not pray to them for food as the Cape Bushmen are said once to have done, or for rain as the Naron and Auen and /O /Kung do.[1]

The /Kung beliefs about rain, which I do not describe in detail in this paper, include the idea that rain is life-giving and makes the food plants and other vegetation grow, whereas the sun is death-giving. The /Kung do not now formally personify or deify rain or worship it, but may retain a vestige of an ancient personification of rain in praying to it, in a manner of speaking, as they also do to lightning. 'Fall silently, rain. Do not make such a noise. Do not be dangerous', they say. Or, to lightning, 'Do not come against me. Go to the other side.'

825 The /Kung do not attribute divinity to the mantis but, in calling it 'the servant of *//Gauwa*', perhaps they preserve a vestige or an echo of the Cape Bushman belief in */kaggen*. If they injure a mantis which is walking on them or throw one into the fire, [753] '*//Gauwa* would see this and say that his servant was being ill treated and would punish the person. He would make the person sick'. Mantises are *chi dole* (*chi*, thing; *dole*, bad) not because they harm you—they only prick and tickle you—but because they belong to *//Gauwa* and people are afraid of the 'owner'. The old people told them these things. We saw the /Kung hold mantises, however, without exhibiting fear or the uncanny fascinated feeling I had when I watched them (especially the huge female who lived with me, with her consort seemingly permanently attached to her, and fascinated me by never seeming to take her eyes off me as she made her slow and stately progress around the tent at night).

The /Kung react in quite a different way to millepedes. They say there are two kinds. The large one they call *ko ko chi nabe*; the small one they call *choba* or *zoba*. One day a boy picked up a millepede and threw it toward a group of women. They jumped up and fled, shrieking. Talking about it afterwards, they explained that 'even men are afraid of millepedes'. (We observed several incidents of people jumping and running from them.) [753] They are very dangerous, the /Kung say. If one gets on you, the shock of fright you feel could kill you. 'Millepedes work with *//Gauwa*. He sends them to eat your nose when you are asleep.' If you put a *choba* in the fire when the *n/i* berries (*Grewia flava* D.C.) are still green, the berries will not ripen [278] properly and will not be sweet. If the /Kung find the ash of a millepede which has been burned in a veld fire and has kept its shape, they take the ash for a medicine. (Cf. Schapera's account that among the Naron and Auen 'the millipede, said to belong to *Hishe*, is only touched by them [magicians]; they dry it and use it powdered as medicine.'[2])

774 825 The /Kung do not believe that animals have spirits or souls or that earthly objects (such as trees or water, for example) are entered by spirits or are themselves animated by having spirits of their own.

● 787 Divination is a secular practice among the /Kung. The oracle disks may be thrown and read by any man. They are five leather disks about two-and-a-half to three inches in diameter. The man who throws them gathers them into his cupped hands, flings them with a spreading motion on to a kaross on the ground, and reads what they reveal or predict. Different personifications are attributed to the disks, according to what the people want to learn from them. If advice about a hunt is wanted, the

[1] Schapera, op. cit., pp. 176–7. [2] Ibid., p. 197.

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

disks may represent two eland bulls, two eland cows, and a hyena, the fifth disk being the factor of ill fortune, and in this role they tell the hunters in what direction they should go and what success or difficulty to expect. The names of people who are absent may be attributed to the disks, which then give news of the people. As everyone knows where everyone is likely to be and what is likely to befall, the disks are more often right than wrong. They afforded us the amusement of a remarkable coincidence, which people so delight in, when they foretold quite precisely the return of one of our party who had been away and whom we had not expected nearly so soon.

It was entertaining to watch a session with the disks. A group of men would gather around the thrower. The thrower always had his say, but he was not allowed to pontificate. Everyone read the disks with him and gave his own interpretation. Sometimes the men would disagree and shout at each other in effect, 'Idiot, don't you see it means this?' At other times they were grave and intent, searching for the meaning. Whether they came to a consensus or went off, each holding to his own opinion, was never clear.

The Names of the Gods

The Names of the Great God

In present times the /Kung of the Nyae Nyae region believe that there are two gods, one the great and one the lesser, that they have wives and children, and that they are attended by the spirits of the dead.

These beings all live in the sky. The great god lives in the east at the place where the sun rises, the lesser god in the west where the sun sets.

The great god created himself. Then he created the lesser god. He created two wives, one for himself and one for the lesser god. The elder wife lives usually with the great god in the east, the younger one with the lesser god in the west, but, at any time the great god wishes, he may take both wives to live with him in the east. The wives bore six children to the gods, three boys and three girls. The great god created the earth and men and women and all things.

The great god named himself and then gave names to the lesser god and to their wives and children. He gave himself his names to praise himself. He said, 'I am *Hishe*. I am unknown, a stranger. No one can command me.' He praised himself also with the name */Gara* when he did something against the people, and the people said, 'He causes death among the people and causes the rain to thunder.' 'I am *≠Gaishi ≠gai*', said the great god. 'I am *chi dole*. I am a bad thing. I take my own way. No one can advise me.' His being the cause of sickness and death among the people was the reason for his giving himself many names, we were told. This was apparently a satisfying reason to the /Kung, who offered no other explanation.

The great god has seven divine names and one earthly name, the last being *≠Gaoma*, Old ≠Gao. His earthly name, though not as common as some, is a man's name which we came upon fairly often. I call his seven other names 'divine' because they belong only to the gods. They are:

Hishe	*/Gara*	*!Gauwa*
Hmwe	*Gani ga*	
Kxo	*≠Gaishi ≠gai*	

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1. Whirlwinds in the huge veld fires become pillars of cloud by day

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2. The oracle disks

[p.228 (A)]

13: Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

8. Occasionally a woman dances with the men for a brief time. All the men who are dancing except two (fourth and sixth from right) are practising medicine men. The one at the farthest left and the one bending forward are beginning to go into trance. Others hold them. In this stage they cure the people, leaning over one and then another, laying on their hands, and making their 'medicine' gestures and sounds

[P. 228 (E)]

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9. The next stage of trance

10. Two medicine men in deep trance; the people rest

[p.228(F)]

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● 787

12. Five medicine men at sunrise after they had danced and cured all night long. The women must still clap and sing the protective medicine music. The men in semi-trance care for those in deep trance, or 'half-death', as they call it

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13. The tradition is continued. Playing 'dance', a little girl claps and sings while two boys dance around her

[p. 228 (H)]

13 Marshall E-5 (1952-1955) 1962 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

776 It was characteristic of the /Kung that none of the medicine men whom we knew
756 claimed to have seen ≠*Gao!na*. They were not great enough, they said. The /Kung
[156] do not wish to risk drawing upon themselves the invidious attention of mortals or the whimsical displeasure of the gods by setting themselves up noticeably before others. Some said that they had been told by their parents of only one great medicine man among their neighbouring bands who had seen ≠*Gao!na*. His name was Gao. He died long ago.

776 Although ≠*Gao!na* comes only to the great medicine men 'in the flesh', so to speak,
787 he appears to anyone in dreams and 'helps all his people'. A hunter said that
[224] ≠*Gao!na* stands beside one in one's dream and says, 'You have been walking and walking and you got nothing. Today I shall give you meat.' The hunter gets up and goes out on to the veld. He sees an animal and shoots it. ≠*Gao!na* may say, on the other hand, 'These days you will not find an animal even if you hunt'; and it will be the truth. He may tell you in a dream where to find honey in a tree or where to
[756 find an ant hill. He gives power to the medicine men in dreams and also medicine
533] songs. A medicine woman described vividly how he had taught her a medicine song which she then gave to her people. He stood beside her instructing her to sing the song over and over until she had learned it.

//GAUWA, THE LESSER GOD

776 Among the Nyae Nyae /Kung the word *//Gauwa* has three interpretations. First,
[775] a *//gauwa* is the spirit of a dead person; the spirits of the dead in the plural are *//gauwasi*. Second, the Nyae Nyae /Kung, as we have said, call the children born to the gods 'little *//gauwasi*'. Third, they apply the name *//Gauwa* to both the great and the lesser god. It is one of the seven names they have in common. In the current beliefs of the Nyae Nyae /Kung there is not a being called *//Gauwa* who is a separate entity apart from the great and the lesser god.

Among other Bushmen and the Hottentots, *//Gauwa* was a being distinct from the other being who is variously named *Hishe*, *Huwe*, *Xu*, &c. As I interpret the present belief of the /Kung, the lesser god is that old, traditional *//Gauwa*. He has been transmuted, however, from the old image to a new one, as the old protagonist, ≠*Gao!na*, was transmuted into the great god. *//Gauwa*'s name has been attributed to the great god as the great god's names have been attributed to him. The two beings remain separate entities in the *!gu!na–!guma* relationship.

I base the interpretation that the lesser god is the traditional *//Gauwa* on the facts that many of his attributes are the same as or similar to those of the traditional being and that I did not hear people use any other name for him but *//Gauwa* and did not once hear the name *//Gauwa* used for the great god when people spoke spontaneously of him, although they insisted that it was one of the seven names which the gods have in common.

Excerpts from Schapera indicate that *//Gauwa* was generally the destroyer. Vedder reports that the /Kung at Tsumeb expect only evil from him and think of him as opposed to *Huwe*. But Lebzelter's Eastern Kung believed that he was good as well as evil, that he helped hunters, and some thought he was the creator. 'He is everywhere and moves between heaven and earth on cords.'[1] By the Heikum also he was

[1] Schapera, op. cit., p. 188.

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776 ‖GAUWA'S *Dwelling and Appearance*

‖Gauwa lives in the western sky at the place where the sun sets. (Cf. *‖Gaunab* of the Hottentots living in a black sky and *Tsui ‖Goab* in a red sky, p. 239.) /Ti/kay said more than once that the lesser god lived in the east. That was what he remembered being told by the old people, he claimed. The other informants agreed, however, in many different interviews, that it was the other way, that the lesser god lived in the west, so I take that to be their current belief.

Some believe that *‖Gauwa* first lived in a hole, */gu*. He made the hole, one informant told us, by pushing the earth out with his head. The hole was like a spring-hare hole, but very big. There were two entrances; one faced toward the sunrise, one faced toward the sunset. *‖Gauwa* later made a house (*choo*). The house is tied together with wire and has poles made of iron. The house stands in a flat open space. It is built up off the ground, upon the iron poles which are stuck into the ground and rise up into the air. Informants said that ' when a person is sick with sore throat, the sickness has been caused by those irons which stick into the air. If *‖Gauwa* does not like a person he can hurt him with those irons. The " old man " (*≠Gao/na*) tells him the way he must hurt a person.' When the medicine men are in trance they go to that house. This is how they know what it is like. They go up by a cord which hangs down from the sky. (Cf. Lebzelter's account of the Eastern Kung who believe that *‖Gaunab* moves between heaven and earth on cords.)[1]

[753 756]

There are two trees near *‖Gauwa*'s house. They have names. Nothing else on the earth or in the sky bears those names, one informant told us. The name of the tree which is towards the north with respect to the other is */Gais*; the one towards the south is named */Dus*. The names mean nothing; they are ' just names '. */Gais* and */Dus* have smooth bark and large white flowers, no thorns, no nuts. I thought they might be like baobabs which have these characteristics, but they are not. They are more nearly like the camelthorn (which incidentally has two names, */gi* ' a respect name ' and */aus* ' a rough name ') but are not exactly like any tree on earth.

776 The medicine men see *‖Gauwa*. Only a very big medicine man, full of the power 756 which *≠Gao/na* had put into him, might see *≠Gao/na* himself, as we learned, but any of the medicine men can see *‖Gauwa*. /Ti/kay thought that because *‖Gauwa* was so often sent by *≠Gao/na* as his messenger the medicine men all become familiar with him. Anyone may see *‖Gauwa* in dreams. [787]

The image of *‖Gauwa* varies. The present image accords with tradition in some aspects. Whereas *≠Gao/na* is ' the tallest of the Bushmen ', *‖Gauwa* is short. He has the form of a man, and the colour yellow is associated with him (similar characteristics to those of Lebzelter's little yellow mannikins with thick bellies, the *dzao*).[2] But individuals have their own interpretations. I am convinced that some of the medicine men, Gao Medicine for one, really believe that they do see *‖Gauwa*. They see in the shadows among the trees and bushes objects which they interpret to be *‖Gauwa*, or they see the light of the veld fires between the branches, or some such phenomenon, or they have visions or hallucinations, perhaps while in trance. Some perhaps just imagine a form. [158]

Demi, a medicine man in Band 12, saw *‖Gauwa* the night of the great dance at

[1] Schapera, op. cit., p. 188. [2] Ibid.

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775 and they have a respectful term, */airisi*, to use if they wish to show deference and be ingratiating. Actually the /Kung seemed to speak of the *//gaowasi* quite often and much less reluctantly than they spoke of the gods. I did not happen to hear them use */airisi* except when they were telling me the term.

775 772 The *//gaowasi* move about in the sky or on earth. All over the sky fine cords are stretched, like the strands of a spider's web, invisible to us but strong. The *//gaowasi* move on these cords and can go anywhere. They descend to earth on one which hangs down from the sky, the one by which the medicine men climb up when they go to see *//Gaowa* in the western sky.

775 772 821 The idea that the stars are the eyes of the dead, which some Bushmen believe, is not held by the Nyae Nyae /Kung. Some informants had heard that other people believed this. Lazy /Qui said he did not know; certainly enough people had died to account for there being so many stars. Others said stars are just stars there in the sky. Although they have names for several of them and stories about some, they do not know what substances stars are made of or what their nature is.

775 [761 825] The /Kung associate falling stars with death. They do not believe that they are spirits of the dead but that they fall to earth and become insects which are colloquially called 'ant lions' (*Myrmeleonidae*, in the order of Neuroptera). These insects are common in the region. In the larval state they live in holes in the ground where one can see them spurting out grains of earth or sand. They devour ants. The /Kung believe that the bite of a fallen star may cause you to die the next day but that, if the star likes you and wishes to spare you, its bite will do you no harm. The old people have said so. *≠Gao/na* has no particular association with ant lions other than being the creator and controller of all things.

The spirits of dead persons are transmuted into *//gaowasi* by *≠Gao/na* in the east. When a person dies, *//gaowasi* come soon to take his spirit. The children of the gods are sometimes the ones who come, we were told, but any of the *//gaowasi* may do so, either ancestors of the dead person or non-related spirits.

[774] The *//gaowasi* pull the spirit out through the head of the corpse. The head is, likewise, the egress of the spirits of the medicine men. When the medicine men are in trance, [787] which the /Kung call half-death, their spirits go out temporarily from their bodies through their heads to encounter and combat *//Gaowa* and the *//gaowasi*, who lurk in the shadows around the dance fire, and it is through the heads that the spirits return.

[775] The spirit which the *//gaowasi* take from the corpse is distinct from life. The /Kung believe that life, *≠toa*, is inside the body of a person or animal, that it is put there and held there by the creator. It exists in all the vital organs in the abdomen, in blood, in the heart, lungs, throat, and mouth, and is everywhere in the head. It does not exist in the arms and legs, the /Kung believe, because they know that human beings and animals can be wounded in a limb or even lose one and not die, whereas a wound in the vital parts is likely to kill. Life dies in the body and stays there—dead, as the [774] body itself is there but dead. It is the spirit which does not die. The only word I know for spirit is *//gaowa*. The spirit is like air. It cannot be seen and cannot be kept by mortals. The *//gaowasi* take it and they take the heart and blood of the person as well. These the *//gaowasi* carry first into the western sky, to the place where *//Gaowa* lives, but they do not leave them with him. They carry them further, around by the south to the east, to the place where *≠Gao/na*, the great creator, lives.

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775 to our ears. One story was that at a place between Gam and Gautscha, where a person died, something goes '*wuu wuu wuu*', making a sound like wind in an empty ostrich eggshell or a bee buzzing in a bottle. The thing once chased ≠Nisa and her daughter. [761] They were terribly frightened, and people warned each other not to go near that place again 'because a person could get such a fright he could die of it'. One cannot see the thing. One can only hear it. On being questioned, people said they thought the thing was a *//ganwa*.

[787] *//Ganwasi* are mischievous as well as conveyors of grave evils and they trick and fool people on their own initiative, often appearing to people in dreams to do so. One might dream, for instance, that the *//ganwasi* told him he would shoot a fat buck if he hunted in a certain direction. If he then hunted there and failed to kill anything, he would know that they had tricked him. ≠Toma felt, when he was sick, that he was lying on thorns and that the *//ganwasi* were pressing down on him.

The function of the *//ganwasi* is, first and foremost, to be the servants (*≠gasi*) of the gods and to carry out their orders. They obey *≠Gaoîna* primarily, but are servants of *//Ganwa* as well. They are the messengers, whether good or bad fortune is being sent to the people.

775 When the gods order them to kill a person, the *//ganwasi* have innumerable ways of 761 doing so. They can allow a buffalo to gore the person, a lion to maul him, or a snake 753 to bite him. They were responsible for a man's falling to his death from a baobab tree—an appalling death to the /Kung, who are as careful and sure as cats. Lightning [821] —'rain fire'—is 'a death thing' and is used by the *//ganwasi* to kill people when the gods so command. *//Ganwasi* have the traditional miniature magic bows and arrows, with which they shoot people. One feels the pain of the little arrow piercing, when one is shot, but one cannot see the arrow; eventually one dies of it. Sickness, however, is the greatest tool of the death-bringers and they kill mostly by it. They can bring their sicknesses, death, and other misfortune to men at any time, but they are sure to come to the ceremonial curing dances and are always there in the shadows watching for their chance to inflict the ill on the person or persons whom they are sent to destroy.

Although the *//ganwasi* are associated in the people's minds primarily with sickness and death and the people fear them with a pervading fear, the /Kung do not appear to suffer in an agony of terror. I think that their fear is mitigated by the belief that the *//ganwasi* are minor characters and can be driven away and that in their own natures they are not wholly evil. Like the mortals they once were, they are capable of being [782] good, bad, or indifferent to man. People can plead with them for their favour and sometimes they feel pity and are helpful.

Man's Relations with the Gods

772 *≠Gaoîna* said, when he praised himself, 'I take my own way and no one can com-776 mand me. I am a stranger, unknowable. I am *chi dole*.' The /Kung these days evidently imagine him to be as much the self unbridled as the old protagonist of the tales. However, unlike the old *≠Gaoîna*, he is not indifferent to mankind, and, even though he lives in the sky, he is not remote. On the contrary, he is deeply involved with humanity, constantly aware of what people do, constantly reacting with pleasure or displeasure, and he favours, punishes, or ill-treats man accordingly.

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The dancing of the men in the curing ceremonial dances has its own special style. In other dances, that of the *Choma*, the Men's Dance, the Eland Dance of the First Menstruation Ceremony, and in the numerous singing-dancing or rhythmic games which the /Kung play for fun, one sees enchanting pantomime and imitation of animals. In the ceremonial dances we sometimes thought we saw what might be a vestige of the imitation of animals' horns in the way the arms were held, but in comparison with the visual expressiveness of the games, the purpose is not to express by gesture but to produce sound, to be part of the music.

The men wear rattles made of strings of dried cocoons with little seeds or stones inside, which make a swishing sound. These are the only instruments used in the dance. (The /Kung, incidentally, have no drums.) The men dance with knees bent and bodies carried with little motion, leaning forward. On the strong accented beat, the dancer gives a hop and comes down with both feet. On the second beat he holds his weight on one foot (alternating right and left) and with the other stamps a single step or ripples two or three light stamps into the time of the single step. The steps are very precise. They are minute in size, advancing only two or three inches, but they are strongly stamped, and ten or twenty dancers stamping together produce a loud thud. The women clap loudly and sharply. The majority of them clap the basic pattern of a particular piece, while some strike a beat or beats which are complementary to the basic beat. The clapping and stamping are of such precision that they give the effect of a well-played battery of percussion instruments producing a solid structure of intricate rhythm. Above the percussion sounds, the voices of the men and women weave together in parts, singing the medicine songs.[1] Since singing and dancing are one, producing the music, I speak of medicine songs or medicine dances interchangeably.

The medicine songs or dances of the /Kung are named *Rain*, *Sun*, *Giraffe*, *Eland*, *Honey*, *Buffalo*, and *Mamba*. Some of the /Kung have *Gemsbok* and *Spider* Medicine music as well. The Rain Dance is not danced as a specific rain-making ceremony. The dances named for animals do not produce magic to control these animals in hunting or to prevent snake-bite, for example. The dances are named for these things because the things are vital, life-and-death things and they are strong, as the curing medicine in the music is strong.

After several dances have been danced the medicine men begin to cure. The /Kung do not have sorcerers, witches, or witch doctors, and do not believe that the divine beings enter into the medicine men or speak through them. Almost all the /Kung men are medicine men. They do not all choose to practise, for one reason or another, but there are always several in a band who are active. Medicine men receive no rewards other than their inner satisfactions and emotional release. I know that some of them feel a deep responsibility for the welfare of their people and great anxiety and concern if their curing fails, and a corresponding satisfaction if it prevails. Others of them appear to be less concerned about the people whom they try to cure and more inwardly turned.

When the medicine men are curing, all of them experience varying degrees of self-induced trance, which includes a period of frenzy and a period of semi-

[1] Nicholas England is in the process of tracing the songs and analysing the music, and he has a paper in preparation which will include /Kung beliefs and practices about them.

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consciousness or deep unconsciousness.[1] They may become stiff or froth at the mouth or lie still as if in coma. Some of them habitually remain in trance only a short time, others for hours. One man used to remain in a semi-trance for most of the day following a dance.

A Bushman curing cannot be fully described in words; it must be heard and I give only an outline here. The medicine man begins by dancing and singing with the others whatever medicine song is being sung. He then leaves the line of dancing men and leans, still singing, over the person he is going to cure. He places one hand on the person's chest, one on his or her back, and flutters his hands. The /Kung believe that in this way he draws the sickness, real or potential, out of the person through his own arms into himself. He grunts with shuddering, gurgling, gasping grunts which intensify in tempo and pitch into shrieks and reach a high, piercing, quavering yell. Finally the medicine man throws up his arms to cast the sickness out, hurling it into the darkness back to *//Gauwa* or the *//gauwasi*, with a sharp yelping cry of '*Kai Kai Kai*'. This shows that it is heavy work to draw the sickness out. The effect of the sound on one observer, myself, was striking—gooseflesh and a stopping of the breath which made it seem as though the heart stood still an instant. A medicine man goes to every person present, leaning over each to cure, even the babies, who, amazingly, seldom cry, though he gurgles and gasps right into their ears. If someone is actually sick, he returns to him again and again through the night.

After the curing has been going on for some time, medicine men begin to reach their state of frenzy. They no longer go around to the people, their spasms of grunting and shrieking become more frequent and violent, their stomachs heave, they stagger and sway. They rush to the fire, trample it, pick up the coals, set fire to their hair. Fire activates the medicine in them. People hold them to keep them from falling and beat out the flames. They rush out into the darkness, where *//Gauwa* and the *//gauwasi* are lurking. They hurl burning sticks and swear at them. 'Filthy face! Take away the sickness you have brought.' 'Uncovered penis[2]! You are bad. You want to kill us. Go away.' '*Hishe*, you are a liar. This man will not die.' At this point they may fall into deep unconsciousness or sink down semi-conscious, eyes closed, unable to walk.

The medicine men who have not reached their full frenzy or who have passed through it attend those who are in it. The /Kung believe that at such a time the medicine man's spirit leaves his body and goes out to meet *//Gauwa* and the *//gauwasi*. They call this 'half death'. It is a dangerous time and the man's body must be watched over and kept warm. The medicine men lean over the one who is in trance. They

[1] The /Kung know about the drug called dagga. They told us that it grows in B.P. and that when they go to trade they sometimes get a little. They like to have some when they go hunting; it keeps one from feeling tired or discouraged, they say. They might take some at a dance if they had it, but they are not dependent on it or on any other substance to induce trance. The trances are psychologically induced.

[2] /Kung men swear a great deal. The swearing plays always upon the themes of the genital organs, sexual intercourse, incest, and excrement. In depreciation they call each other genital organs or tell each other to go and commit incest with their mothers, sisters, wives' mothers, or sons' wives. We have not recorded their saying 'daughter'. Is that thought so terrible to them that its expression is beyond even these hardened swearers? They use the same themes in their blasphemy against the gods. 'Uncovered' or 'thrown-away penis' may mean 'circumcised'. This is a great insult among the /Kung who do not circumcise but know that the Bantu do. 'Filthy face' means 'covered with excrement'.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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Ko ('ngo), as

776 we have already seen, comes sometimes to the people while they are
● [787] dancing, and informs them where game is to be procured; while
[224] if she breathes upon a man's arm this makes him shoot better.[1]

From these accounts we may gather that the Mantis among the Basutoland Bushmen is regarded as the creator of all things, and is
[782] especially concerned with the sources of food supply, so that prayers are addressed to him for food, for success in hunting, etc. He is also linked up with certain dances in some way connected with
[756] initiation, although, from the description given by Orpen's informant,
[791] it is probable that the "initiated" men referred to are the magicians, who are also the physicians in all Bushman tribes. The tales recorded
[773] by Orpen show that the Mantis here has much the same mythological character as among the Cape Bushmen. The latter, however, do
[184] not pray to him, although by them also he is said to have creative powers and to have made certain game animals which are under his special protection.

Further north there are no particular beliefs about the Mantis.
184 Some Kung youths from near Lake Ngami, however, repeated to
776 Miss Lloyd several tales about */xwe*, a little personage not identified with any animal, who plays tricks and transforms himself into a variety of things. */xwe* also has some dealings with the Moon and the Hare, outstanding figures of Bushman lore. He seems to have much in common with the Mantis, but there is no further mention of him in the other branches of the Kung or in any of the other North-Western tribes.[2]

776 The Naron and Auen at Sandfontein spoke to Miss Bleek about *Hishe* or *Hiyesha*, a supernatural being who lived in the east, and
[88] who, as we have already seen, appears in various guises at the boys' puberty ceremonies. He is regarded as the protector of the game and hunting; he once, when the trees and animals were people, bade them assume their present forms; he also instituted marriage and the mode of life of the Bushmen, Hottentots, and Europeans.
[756] From a casual reference by Miss Bleek it further appears that the magicians "worked" with Hishe, but unfortunately she throws
[114] no light at all upon the meaning of this statement.

From the Hottentots these people were beginning to borrow the
177 idea of */khuba* or */xuba* (cf. Campbell's "Goba"). This is the
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[1] Campbell, *Second Journey into S. Africa*, ii, 32–3; Arbousset, *Relation d'un Voyage*, etc., 501, 505–6; Orpen, "Mythology of the Maluti Bushmen," *passim*.
[2] Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 404–13.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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everywhere he is regarded as the creator of all things, including mankind, and he sends the rain. He is prayed to for rain, in sickness, before and after hunting, and before travel, and by the group at Uukualuthi he is also given the first-offerings of the chase, as among the Kung of the Oschimpoloveld. Almost everywhere he has neither wife nor children; it is only among the Eastern Kung that mention is made of these. He is regarded everywhere as benevolent and good, but appears to have no connection with the moral life of the people.[1]

The !O Kung in Angola did not mention *Erob* or *Xuwa*, but spoke again of *Huwe*. Here, as we have seen, *Huwe* occasionally appears at the boys' puberty ceremonies and dances with the initiates, sometimes as a youth, sometimes in double guise as man and woman. In the prayer to the New Moon his name may also be substituted for *//nwa-se*, but apart from this substitution there is no evidence of worship directed towards him. He is further said to appear to people in dreams.[2] Of the attributes found by Lebzelter for the "supreme being" among the Kung and the Heikum no mention at all is made by Miss Bleek.

Huwe appears again among the Bushmen of the Eastern Kalahari. They believe, according to Dornan, in a spirit which they variously call *Dzimo*, *Thora*, and *Huwe*. *Dzimo* is a corruption of the Chwana word *Modimo*, nowadays generally rendered "God", and is, says Dornan, "largely used by the tame Bushmen with the same signification." *Thora* and *Huwe* are the regular Bushman words. *Huwe* is here spoken of as the good spirit who wards off disease, gives plenty, and protects the Bushmen from danger. When any danger threatens, they will call upon him; Dornan mentions having once heard some Bushmen of the Sansokwe River sing over and over again the words *Huwe ka hume ie ie*, *Huwe* come to our aid ie ie. More often, however, they speak of *Thora*. They say he made all things, but they are not sure where he dwells, or if he is a person. According to Dornan they look upon him as the Great One, who is over all things, who sends rain and game, plenty of food and good luck in hunting. They often use *Thora* to ensure success in hunting; when, e.g. they have killed an animal they will praise him for bringing it under their arrows. This statement Dornan seems to have derived

[1] Lebzelter, op. cit., 410–12; cf. Schmidt, "Die alten Buschmann-Religion," 197, summarizing Lebzelter's data.

[2] D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 14; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 132, 133.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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while those dying a " good death " go to */khutse* (*/khuba*). " About the nature of these beings," he adds, " they have no idea, nor are their lives and activities influenced to any extent by them." But he records a tale in which the knowledge of magic by the Bushmen is ascribed to *Gaua*, who initiated one of them " on the other side " into the use of the small magic quiver (cf. below " Magic and Magicians "), while in his description of the boys' puberty ceremonies he speaks as if *Gaua* were the supernatural being figuring in them, whereas Miss Bleek's informants all mentioned *Hishe*.[1]

Vedder, again, says of the Kung at Tsumeb that they believe in *//gaua*, who is opposed to *Huwe*, and from whom they expect only evil. They protect themselves against him by means of amulets. The !O Kung of Angola ascribe thunder and lightning to *//gaua*. When it thunders, they say " *//gaua* thunders ", and when anyone is struck by lightning, a frequent occurrence, the death is related in the words: " *//gaua* took him or her." Two aunts of Miss Bleek's informant who had been killed by lightning were said to sit in the sky as stars. All stars are called *//gaua's* fires; there do not seem to be any separate names for them. *//gaua* also leads the people at a girl's puberty dance, and the cuts made on the girl's body are said to be in his honour. The same informant, a female magician, said that the Bushmen were *//gaua's* children. He is a male being who comes in from the forest, where his dwelling is a hole in the ground, and magicians can see it from afar. But people do not pray to him. This was also stated by a male informant, who said *//gaua* was *Ndṛambi* (the Mbunda word for deity, used by the missionaries for " God "); " we pray to sun, moon, and stars," he added, " but not to *//gaua*."[2]

Much new light is thrown upon the conception of *//gaua* by Lebzelter's accounts of the spirit world among the Kung and the Heikum. Among the Eastern Kung, he says, the " great captain " *Xu* is also the lord of all the spirits, *//gauab*, to whom he entrusts all dealings with mankind, except in the matter of rain, over which he himself directly presides. These spirits affect human life both helpfully and harmfully. They can be seen and spoken to by the magicians, and look like men, but many of them are lame. They are not classified systematically by the Kung, but Lebzelter claims to recognize five kinds.

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 26, 46; Fourie, " Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.
[2] Vedder, op. cit., 6, 7; D. F. Bleek, " Buschmänner von Angola," 54; *idem*, " Bushmen of Central Angola," 123–4.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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also the doctors of the community. The millipede, said to belong to *Hishe*, is only touched by them; they dry it and use it powdered as medicine.

Naron magicians (*tsho k'auba* or */nu k'auba*) do not dress or live differently from the rest of the community. "No one would know them apart," says Miss Bleek, "nor do they seem to have much influence to-day." The Auen seem to have many more magicians than the Naron, by whom they are looked up to in magic matters. Here, according to Kaufmann, the magicians, (*tsho k'au*, */nu k'au* or */geixa*) have their skulls shaved clean, and also carry a few ornaments which may not be worn by other people. The magic art in both tribes is learned by apprenticeship. During the month of the puberty ceremony one or two boys are taught their trade by the old magicians. At the next ceremony they return and are taught more; and boys who have been with a magician for many years can when they become older succeed their master.[1]

Magicians among the Kung are of two kinds, and both are called in especially for illness. The */u k'au*, who sucks out the disease from the body of the patient, is "an evil person, who speaks to no one and always looks black"; while the */ue k'au*, according to Vedder, is the ordinary worker in magic and the poison-mixer, and also prepares medicines from herbs and roots by cooking.[2] Lebzelter gives further information about the magicians. Both men and women can be summoned by the "great captain" to exercise this calling. The power they receive from him is greater than that of all the spirits with the exception of */nawa*, and is equal to that of the latter. Magicians are thus "born and not made", to use Lebzelter's expression, but nevertheless it appears that they have to learn the secrets of their calling by apprenticeship. They accompany the old magicians at least once in the search for medicine plants, and are then subjected to a test. The old magicians in the customary manner attempt to cure a sick person by sucking out the "disease poison" ("Krankheitsgift") or the "spirits of disease" from the body of the patient; then they administer all the "disease poison" extracted by them to the initiates. If the latter do not die from this treatment, they have satisfactorily passed the test!

The magicians, apart from being able to cure illnesses by banishing the "spirits of disease" from the body of the patient, also have the

[1] D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 28; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 159.
[2] "Grammatik der !kû-Buschmannsprache," 8-9.

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faculty of seeing and speaking to the *//gauab*, and only they know and utter the real name, */nawa*, of the chief of the latter. The evening before a hunting expedition they pray to *//gauab* for help, and certain of them also have the power of conjuring down rain. This they achieve in the following manner. When rain is needed, all the people of the camp take part in a dance, during which they sing over and over again a mournful song lamenting the condition of hunger and thirst to which they are reduced. "Finally the great captain in the sky hears the lamentation. The magician goes outside the camp and sees that a thin cord is being let down from the sky. He climbs a certain way up this, but the great captain comes down to meet him half-way. As soon as the magician sees the great captain, he throws a powder up to him; whereupon the great captain lifts him up high and takes him into his house. There the magician prays to him: 'Lord, help us, the children are dying, we thirst and hunger.' So long does he pray and plead that at last the captain says: 'It is well, I shall send water, that the children may have water and veldkos.' Then he again accompanies the magician half-way down the cord. As soon as the latter has reached the ground, he releases his hold upon the cord, which is at once drawn up again. The rain follows immediately."[1]

Among the !O Kung in Angola there are also two kinds of magicians. The */num-k'au* officiates at puberty dances, makes scarifications, sees spirits, and also conjures up *//gaua*, while the *tsho-k'au* heals the sick by singing, dancing, and extracting the evil from the patient's body through sucking. For this he receives a present. Both men and women apparently can become magicians of either kind, if taught by an older practitioner. There is said to be no ceremony of initiation for them, nor do they wear a special dress of any kind.[2]

It will be noticed that both terms which distinguish the two classes of magician among the Kung and the !O Kung are also found among the Naron and Auen for magicians. This would suggest that there is a similar division of functions in these tribes also, but neither Miss Bleek nor Kaufmann definitely states this.

The origin of magic among the Naron and Auen is said by Fourie to be attributed to *//gaua*, and he gives the following myth in confirmation.[3] "The Bushman *Tji-Tji* is said to have been initiated

[1] Lebzelter, "Religiösen Vorstellungen usw.," 408–9; *idem*, "Bei den !Kun-Buschleuten," 15.

[2] D. F. Bleek, "Buschmänner von Angola," 55; "Bushmen of Central Angola," 124.

[3] "Bushmen of S.W.A.," 104.

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arrows are not poisoned but are used for "witchcraft", and "if they are shot in the direction of an enemy, be he 100 kilos or more away, witchcraft will bring about his death".[1] The myth recorded by Fourie also lends support to the idea that these arrows are used for magical purposes. It is possible, too, that something similar is implied in the statement, mentioned above, that among the Cape Bushmen magicians caused illness by shooting with invisible arrows, but it should be noted that no such weapons as those here described have yet been found among them.

Apart from the special magic practised by magicians and associated with them, there are among all the Bushmen various usages and beliefs of a nature which may be generally termed magical, and which are apparently common property. Many of the hunting observances already described fall into this category. So, too, does divination. Among the Cape Bushmen this occurs principally in the form of beliefs in the efficacy of omens, of which there are a great number with diverse significations. They say they feel in their bodies that certain things are going to happen; there is a kind of beating of the flesh which tells them things. Those who are stupid do not understand these teachings and disobey them, with the result that they get into trouble, are killed by a lion, and so on. These beatings tell those who understand them which way not to go, and which arrow it is better not to use, and also warn them when people are coming. They inform the hunter when game is close at hand, tell people where they can find the person for whom they are in search, i.e. which way to go, and so on.[2]

In the more northerly tribes is found the use of pieces of wood, leather or bone as divining bones or dice. These are usually four in number, and roughly triangular in shape, two of them being broad, the other two longer and thinner. The former are called male, the latter female. In the Eastern Kalahari they are usually each marked in a special way and named, but this is not found further west. The bones may be owned and used by anyone, not only by magicians. They are used in a very crude manner: the inquirer goes on throwing them on to his kaross until he gets a favourable answer. Such bones are frequently found among the Northern and Central Kalahari Bushmen, and occasionally among those dwelling on the southern

[1] *Report on the Natives of South-West Africa and their Treatment by Germany* (Cd. 9146), 1918, p. 172.
[2] Bleek, *Bushman Texts*, 17–18; Bleek and Lloyd, *Bushman Folklore*, 330–9.

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borders of the Desert, but are unknown to the Cape Bushmen and those of Griqualand West. Dornan maintains that they are original elements in the culture of the Bushmen, from whom they have been taken over by the Bantu. All the evidence, however, points in the other direction, for among the Bantu the use of divining bones of several different types is not only widespread, but also developed into an elaborate system of interpretation, while the way the Bushmen handle them shows that they do not know much about them. Moreover, it is found that the frequency of their use by the Bushmen coincides with the extent to which any tribe has been exposed to Bantu influence.[1]

Other minor beliefs and practices of the Bushmen are mentioned by writers on particular tribes, but consideration of them must be omitted in a general survey such as this. It may be noted, however, that among the Northern tribes amulets are often worn to ward off disease and other evils, while among all the Bushmen charms of various kinds are also carried to ensure good luck. Bad dreams are also regarded as evil omens, and precautions taken to counteract them. Among the Cape Bushmen, for instance, when a woman had had a bad dream, she banished it by plunging a stone into the fire, at the same time saying a spell. If she neglected to do this, the dream would accompany her when she went out to seek ants' larvae and prevent her from finding any. The Naron, in the same way, when they have had bad dreams put a bit of burning charcoal on the ground and pour water on it, then the bad dream flies away with the steam. Or, when a man is ill and *Hishe* sends bad dreams, he takes a stick after the sun has arisen, plants it in the ground between his knees, burns *buchu* and snuffs it, and recovers.[2]

[1] Werner, "Heikum und Kungbuschleute," 256; Kaufmann, "Auin," 159, Dornan, "Divination and Divining Bones," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, XX, 505–7; *idem*, *Pygmies and Bushmen*, 155–8; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 28–9; *idem*, *Comparative Vocabularies*, 10–11.

[2] Bleek and Lloyd, op. cit., 365; D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 29.